3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

194 tions of folklore texts tonal behavior will be seen to be less consistent. Discrepancies in the incidence of tones may be due to different speeds at which words are spoken. The placing of tones is perhaps most reliable when transcriptions are made from free, continuous speech, as in the case of fluent reading, or talking in continuous sentences.

Many words received a definite stress on the last syllable, and in others the penultimate syllable received a light stress. The majority, however, received slight, if any, stress, hence no definite conclusions could be reached on this subject. In several instances it is obvious that the informant was striving to be clear and distinct in pronouncing each syllable; therefore he possibly sacrificed certain characteristics of his intonation.

THE SYLLABLE

Every syllable ends in a vowel, consequently a vowel terminates each word, and consonants are pronounced with the following vowel, or with a consonant plus the vowel. The vowel of the penultimate syllable is long when the word stands alone, and in larger sound-groups the vowel is long in the penultimate syllable of the last word, while in the preceding word, or words, the corresponding vowel seems to be only half the length. Vowel length is not indicated in these transcriptions.

GRAMMAR

THE CLASS SYSTEM

193 The data available were sufficient to establish the following classes of nouns, on the basis of their prefixes in the singular and plural; the formation of the adjectival or relative concords was likewise noted. There is no assurance that this list is exhaustive.

CLASS	PREFIX		RELATIVE	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1.	omu-, omo-	oma-	u-	va-
1a.	u-	a-, ova-	u-	va-
2.	u-, oku-	ovo-	u- (ku-)	a-
3.	u'	ovi-, i-	u-	vi-
4.	o-	olo-	yi-	vi-
5.	olu-	olo-, a-	lu-	vi-, a-
6.	otci-	ovi-, i-	tci-	vi-
7.	e-	a-, ova-	li-	a-
7a.	-, i-	ova-	li-	a-
8.	oka-	otu-	ka-	tu-

According to the principle of concord, the noun prefix is the governing element which determines the concordial agreement of parts of speech when these are brought into relationship with the noun. The prefixes also indicate number and, together with the

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

concordial agreement as stated above, divide the nouns into several classes or class genders. We need not enter upon a general discussion of concord, which in the Bantu languages is a method of expressing grammatical relations that are of fundamental importance. Concord need not always appear in the form of perfect alliteration, although it frequently does so, for the essential fact is that all nouns of the same class are recognizable as such, and other elements of speech when brought into syntactic agreement with these nouns must carry similar distinctions. 193

Students of Bantu have suggested that the various noun classes probably represent a proto-Bantu classification which formerly betokened a grouping based on common characteristics (A. Werner, Some Bantu Linguistic Problems, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, XXVIII, 1928–29, pp. 155–165). The nouns listed here under Class 1 may accordingly be recognized as belonging to the so-called personal class, and the prefixes of Class 8 indicate a diminutive class. [113]

CLASS 1

SINGULAR PREFIX: *omu-, omo-*	RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *oma-*	RELATIVE: *wa-*
ɔmánù, person	*ɔmɔ́lɔ*, child
ɔmánù, people	*ɔmɔ́lɔ*, children

Illustrations of concordial agreement with these nouns:

ɔmánú útito, small person	*ɔmɔ́lɔ́ útito*, small child
ɔmánú vátito, small people	*ɔmɔ́lɔ́ vátito*, small children

CLASS 1A

SINGULAR PREFIX: *u-*	RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *o-, ova-*	RELATIVE: *wa-*
ulume, man	*ufeko*, girl
alume, men	*afeko*, girls
ɔváume, men	*ɔváfeko*, girls
ukɔi, woman	*umalehe*, lad
akɔi, women	*amalehe*, lads
ɔvákɔi, women	

The following forms show the concordial agreement for Class 1A:

ulume útito, small man	*akɔi vátito*, small women
alume vátito, small men	*ɔvákɔi vátito*, small women
ɔváume vátito, small men	*afeko vene* (*va-ene*), your (pl.) girls
ukɔi útito, small woman	*amalehe váwɔ*, their lads

• 193

CLASS 2

SINGULAR PREFIX: *u-, oku-* RELATIVE: *u-, ku-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ovo-* RELATIVE: *a-*

ulá, bed	*òkúlù*, leg
òvólá, beds	*òvólù*, legs
uta, gun	*okwókwó*, arm
òvóta, guns	*ovókwó*, arms

Concordial agreement for Class 2:

ulá ùnénè, large bed	*ovótá dìlìto*, small guns
ovólá ònénè, large beds	*òkúlú kùtìto*, small leg
uta ùtìto, small gun	*òvólú dìlìto*, small legs

CLASS 3

SINGULAR PREFIX: *u-* RELATIVE: *u-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ovi-, i-* RELATIVE: *vi-*

úti, tree	*útima*, heart
oviti, trees	*òvìtima*, hearts
úpi, handle	*itima*, hearts
ovipi, handles	

Concordial agreement for Class 3:

úti ùnénè, large tree	*útima ùtìto*, small heart
oviti vinénè, large trees	*òvitimá vitìto*, small hearts

CLASS 4

SINGULAR PREFIX: *o-* RELATIVE: *yi-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *olo-* RELATIVE: *vi-*

ondjo, house	*òyóngómbè*, ox
olóndjo, houses	*òlóyóngómbè*, oxen
òmángu, chair	*òyúlù*, pig
òlómángu, chairs	*òlóyúlù*, pigs

Concordial agreement for Class 4:

óndjó yiwa, good house	*òlomáyú vìtìto*, small chairs
olóndjó viwa, good houses	*òyúlú yìnénè*, large pig
òmáyú yìtìto, small chair	*òloyúlú vìnénè*, large pigs

CLASS 5

SINGULAR PREFIX: *olu-* RELATIVE: *lu-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *olo-, a-* RELATIVE: *yi-, a-*

ò[illegible]ñi, fly	*olwí (olu-í)*, stream
òlóñi, flies	*olóndwí*, streams
òluhéyo, wild plum	*òlwéyò*, broom
òlohéyo, wild plums	*òlóndwéyò*, brooms
	àlwéyò, brooms

193 •

Concordial agreement for Class 5:

ɔlúñí lùtíto, small fly
ɔlóñí vìtíto, small flies
olwí lùnénɛ̀, large stream
olónduí vinénɛ̀, large streams

ɔlwéyó lùwa, good broom
ɔlòndwéyó viwa, good brooms
ɔlwéyó ɔwa, good brooms

CLASS 6

SINGULAR PREFIX: *otci-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ovi-, i-*

RELATIVE: *tci-*
RELATIVE: *vi-*

ɔtcinúnù, thief
ɔvìmúnù, thieves
imúnù, thieves
ɔtcitúñù, pit
ɔvitúñù, pits

itúñù, pits
ɔtcitá, one hundred
ɔvitá, hundreds
ɔtcipɔ̀, skin
ɔvipɔ̀, skins

Concordial agreement for Class 6:

ɔtcitúñú tcinénɛ̀, large pit
ɔvitúñú vinénɛ̀, large pits

ɔtcipú tciwa, good skin
ɔvipú viwa, good skins

CLASS 7

SINGULAR PREFIX: *e-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *a-, ova-*

RELATIVE: *li-*
RELATIVE: *a-*

ekú, hand
ɔváká, hands
epɨ́á, field
ɔvápɨ́á, fields
ewé, stone
ɔváwé, stones
ɛpákɔ̀, fruit

ɔvàpákɔ̀, fruits
apákɔ̀, fruits
ekándu, wrong
ɔvákándu, wrongs
akándu, wrongs
ɛpúmù, corncob
apúmù, corncobs

Concordial agreement for Class 7:

ekú lítíto, small hand
ɔváká ɔtìto, small hands

epɨ́á lìwa, good field
ɔvápɨ́á ɔwa, good fields

CLASS 7A

SINGULAR PREFIX: *-, i-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *ova-*

RELATIVE: *li-*
RELATIVE: *a-*

ímbɔ́, belly
ɔváɨ́mbɔ́, bellies

isɔ́, eye
ɔvásɔ́, eyes

Concordial agreement for Class 7A:

ímbó línénɛ̀, large belly
ɔváɨ́mbó ɔnénɛ̀, large bellies
isɔ́ lítíto, small eye

ɔvásɔ́ ɔtíto, small eyes
ímbó lìɔngómbɛ̀, belly of ox
ɔváɨ́mbó ɔlóngómbɛ̀, bellies of oxen

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

CLASS 8

193 As previously stated, the prefixes of this class signify diminutive forms. In Chewa, one of the languages spoken in Nyasaland Protectorate, these prefixes and the augmentative prefixes when used with the personal nouns convey a somewhat derogatory meaning. In Zulu the diminutive and augmentative suffixes, although not determining classes, are likewise of this nature when employed with nouns of the personal class. The records upon which this brief description of Umbundu is based were not clear on this point, but I note that *-tito* means "small," so that the distinction between *ɔkalume* ("little man") and *ulume ùtito*, translated in the field notes as "small man," may be of considerable importance. Likewise, *ɔtcìmúnù* ("thief"), Class 6, may be an augmentative-derogatory form in origin, provided that there is an augmentative class and that it coincides with Class 6.

SINGULAR PREFIX: *oka-*	RELATIVE: *ka-*
PLURAL PREFIX: *otu-*	RELATIVE: *tu-*
ɔkándjo, little house	*ɔtwalume*, little men
ɔtándjo, little houses	*ɔkatcípà*, little skin
ɔkalume, little man	*ɔtuvípà*, little skins

Concordial agreement for Class 8:

ɔkamɔ́lá kàwa, good little child
ɔtumɔ́lá tɔ̀wa, good little children
ɔkándjó kòngúlù, little house of (the) pig
ɔtándjó twɔ̀lóngúlù, little houses of the pigs

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are given below. Those for the third person are obviously Class 1 pronouns. Pronouns for the other classes were not obtained. These forms are of the independent or absolute type.

	Singular	Plural
FIRST PERSON	*ámè*	*étù*
SECOND PERSON	*óvè*	*énè*
THIRD PERSON, Class 1	*eyé*	*ávò*

The possessive pronominal stems are to a great extent identical with the absolute forms, but follow the nouns which they qualify, and are preceded by the concord of the thing possessed and the qualificative formative (a). In some instances this formative is

elided. Again, for the third person we can give only the forms of Class 1. 193

	Singular	Plural
FIRST PERSON	*-ŋgè*	*-etu* (ɛ)
SECOND PERSON	*-óvè*	*-ene* (ɛ)
THIRD PERSON, Class 1	*-hè*	*-vò*

(ɛ) Note that the tone differs from that of the "absolute" forms.

Examples of the use of the possessive:

ɔtciɛtúñú tcáŋgè, my pit
ɔtciɛtúñú tcóvè, your pit
ɔtciɛtúñú tcáhè, his (Class 1) pit
ɔtciɛtúñú tcetu, our pit
ɔtciɛtúñú tcene, your (pl.) pit
ɔtciɛtúñú tcávò, their (Class 1) pit
ɔvitúñú vjáŋgè, my pits
ɔvitúñú vjávò, their (Class 1) pits
ɔmúnú wáŋgè, my slave
ɔmúnú wóvè, your slave
ɔmúnú wáhè, his (Class 1) slave
ɔmúnú váŋgè, my slaves
ɔmúnú vóvè, your slaves
ɔmúnú váhè, his (Class 1) slaves
ɔmúnú vetu, our slaves
ɔmúnú vene, your (pl.) slaves
ɔmúnú vávò, their (Class 1) slaves
akɛi wáŋgè, my woman (my wife)
akɛi wóvè, your woman
akɛi vetu, our woman
akɛi vóvè, your women
úti wóvè, your tree
oviti vjene, your (pl.) trees
úti wáhè, his (Class 1) tree
úti wávò, their (Class 1) trees
oviti vjávò, their (Class 1) trees
óndjó yetu, our house
óndjó yene, your (pl.) house
óndjó ɣávò, their (Class 1) house
olóndjó vjetu, our houses
ɔluhéŋgó luváŋgè, my wild plum
ɔluhéŋgó luvóvè, your wild plum
ɔluhéŋgó luváhè, his (Class 1) wild plum
ɔkamɛlá káŋgè, my little child
ɔkándjó kóvè, your little house
ɔtúndjó tuóvè, your little houses

The following examples of syntax were not recorded on the dictaphone, therefore they have not been phonetically analyzed.

The verb stem is seen in the imperative singular:

tuŋga, build (thou) *tila*, flee (thou)
tuŋga ondjo, build the house

Example of imperative plural ending with *i*:

tuŋgi, build ye *tili*, flee ye

PRINCIPAL TENSES

FUTURE

The following examples suggest that there is no formal distinction between the present and the future:

ndi tuŋga onjo or *nunga onjo*, I shall build the house
o tuŋga onjo, you will build the house

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

193 *o tuŋga onjo*, he will build the house
tu tuŋga onjo, we shall build the house
vu tuŋga onjo, you will build the house
va tuŋga onjo, they will build the house
omunu o tuŋga,[1] a person builds
omanu va tuŋga, the people build
omiapia yi tuŋga, a swallow builds
olomiapia vi tuŋga, swallows build
eveke li tuŋga, the fool will build
ocimunu ci tuŋga, the thief will build
ovimunu vi tuŋga, the thieves will build
okamola ka tila, the little child will flee
otumala tu tuŋga, the little children will build
olusenge lu tila (monitor lizard), the lizard will flee

PAST

ᵐda tuŋga onjo, I built the house
wa tuŋga onjo, you built the house
wa tuŋga onjo, he built the house
tua tuŋga onjo, we built the house
va tuŋga onjo, they built the house
ocimunu ca tila, the thief fled
ongombe ya tila, the ox fled
eveke lia tila, the fool fled
okamola ka tila, the little child fled
omunu wa tila, the person fled

The pronoun as object comes between the prefix and the verb:

ombua ya ci lumana,[2] the dog bit it
ocimunu co lumana, the thief bit him
cu lumana, it will bite him
olusenge emalanaga lu lilumana, the lizard will bite the cheetah
okamola olunyihi lua ka lumana, the little child, the bee stung him

The perfect tense uses the prefix of the past tense with *-ile* or *-ele* added to the stem of the verb. The perfect is used to indicate an action in some definite past time, or to state a condition which has ceased:

ulume wa solele ukai wahe, the man used to love his wife
helā ombua ya lumanele omunu (*ulume*), yesterday the dog bit a man

[1] The o is not a pronoun but is used to preserve concord.

[2] The letter *y* is part of the concord. The letter *y* survives from the personal pronoun *eye* meaning "he." Letter *a* indicates past tense; *ci* means "it" or "thing." Hence the literal meaning is "dog he thing bit."

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

enyamuale va tuygile olonjo, last year they built the houses 193

The causative is expressed by the suffix *-isa:*

va tuygisa onjo, they caused the house to be built
o toygisa ombinja, he will cause a shirt to be sewed

The suffix *-ila* has the force of a preposition:

ombua ya tilila konjo, the dog fled to the house
olusenge lua fila vocitunyu, the lizard died in the pit

Illustrations of indirect object:

wa tuygila ukai onjo, he built the house for the woman
va tu tongela olombinja, they sewed the shirts for us

The prefix *oku* is the sign of the infinitive:

oku tuyga, to build
oku tila, to flee
oku lia, to eat

The subjunctive is expressed by changing final *a* to *e:*

a tuyge onjo, let him build the house
va tile, let them flee
va sia epangu okuti oco ovasa a pite, they left a hole so that the water might pass

The auxiliary *ka* ("to go") is used with all tenses:

o ka tuyga kimbo, he will go and build at the village
wa ka tuyga onjo, he has gone to build a house
wa ka tuygile onjo, he has been there and built a house

The negative is expressed in the following words:

si tuygi, I shall not build
ku tuygi, thou wilt not build
ka tuygi, he will not build
ka tu tuygi, we will not build
ka va tuygi, they will not build
ongombe ka yi tuygi, the ox will not build
ocimunu ka ci tuygi, the thief will not build
olusenge ka lu tila, the lizard will not flee
okamola ka ka tuygi, the little child will not build
ukai ka tuygi, the woman will not build

The past negative is expressed as follows:

sa tuygile, I did not build
kua tuygile, you did not build
ka tuygile, he did not build
ka tua tuygile, we did not build

193 *ka wa tuŋgili*, you did not build
ka va tuŋgile, they did not build
omanu ka va yongola oku tila, the people do not wish to flee
ocimunu ka ci yongola upange, the thief does not wish work
ha ngombe ko, it is not an ox
ha njoko, it is not a house
ha munuko, it is not a person
ha manuko, they are not people
ha ci munuko, he is not a thief
ha meko, it is not I
he yeko, it is not he
ha veko, it is not you
he tuko, it is not we
he neko, it is not you
ha voko, it is not they
si ci munuko, I am not a thief
ku ci munuko, you are not a thief
ha ci munuko, he is not a thief
ka tui munuko, we are not thieves
ka wi munuko, you are not thieves
ha i munuko, they are not thieves

TRANSCRIPTION OF FOLKLORE STORIES

539.

Ombwá *lolwisó* *lwáyo*[1]
Dog with Greed His

Ombwá *kèyaù*, *okásitu* *vómèlá*. *Yi* *li* *lókúyókàyoka*
Dog on bridge little meat in mouth. It is there to cross

òlwi. *Vováká* *yi* *letemo* *ómbwá* *yekwávò* *lonumbá*
stream. In water it sees dog another with piece

yinénè *yósitù*. *Ombwá* *yà lólá* *okásitu* *káhè*; *yà* *wilà*
big of meat. Dog dropped little meat his; it threw itself

vováká *hà yi* *kwátà* *ósitù* *yinénè* *yikwávò*. *Omó* *yà*
in water in order to catch meat large other. Thus it

ñelisá *òlónúmbá* *viválì*, *yikwávò* *ya* *kàlè* *láyò*,
lost pieces two, the other it was with him,

yikwávò *yi* *léte* *pólwi*. *Yà vi* *ñelisá* *momo* *o kwete*
(the) other it saw in stream. It then lost because he had

olúŋgòŋgò. *Isó* *lilmólá mólá* *ondjámba*, *òkù lièndà* *ka li ká*
greed. Eye sees (continuously) elephant, in going it is not

velèla *ohatù*.
increased meat-hunger.

[177]

[1]Presumably an adoption of the well-known European fable of the dog and his reflection.